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ANCIENT and MODERN

LIBERTY

Stated and Compar'd.

*Libertas & speciosa nomina prætexuntur ; sed
Libertatem preferunt, ut Imperium evertant ;
nec Imperii Inimici sunt, nisi quod mutatus
Princeps Licentiam turbarum, & ex civili
bello spem præmiorum ostendit.*

TACITUS.



L O N D O N :

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METHODIK

Methodik des Handels



ANCIENT and MODERN

LIBERTY

Stated and Compared.

THE *Liberty of this Country* is so essential, both to our Grandeur as a Nation, and our Happiness as a People, that I do not wonder those, who would be glad to cast any Odium on the present Government, are always endeavouring to alarm the People from that Quarter, and trying to infuse Jealousies on a Point, where, from the Importance of it, the People must be most susceptible of such Impressions, and most apprehensive of Danger.

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But when I reflect on the Manner in which the Anti-ministerial Writers have handled this Subject, I cannot help thinking they have as often prostituted the *Name* of Liberty, as they have abused the *Enjoyment* of it.

They always talk both of Liberty and Frugality in Government; as if any Society could be form'd without some Restraint on natural Liberty, or any Government supported without some Expence: whereas both those things are impossible; and their being so, is a short Answer to all the boasted Reasoning of that elaborate Treatise, call'd *The Sequel to Politicks on both Sides*; a Scheme of Oeconomy, which amounts to no more, than if, in private Life, one Man should tell another, who owes twenty times the annual Income of his Estate; that if he would but fast, and go naked, and live upon nothing for twenty Years together, at the End of those twenty Years his Debt would be discharg'd. But this being a Consideration that comes

comes not within my present Design, I recur to the Point of Liberty: And as it must be granted, that all Peace, all Order in Society is maintain'd by some Restrictions on natural Liberty, and that the Anarchy of natural Liberty wholly unrestrain'd, would be as great an Evil as the Slavery of no Liberty at all allow'd; so the best regulated and best concerted Form of Government must be that which avoids the Inconveniences of both these Extremes, and at once preserves Mankind from the Oppressions consequent to an absolute Submission to the Will of another, and from the Confusion that would result from an unlimited Indulgence of their own.

But as there never was, nor perhaps ever will be, any Form of Government where this Medium was so exactly hit, as to be unliable to Objection, altho' from blended Considerations, and the Imperfection of every thing, it may be incapable of Improvement; so it is impossible to judge of

any human Institution, any more than of any human Virtue, but by Comparison. And as the modern Authors on this Subject have often insisted on the Faults of the present Government, by extolling the Felicity of Times past, and particularly on the Chapter of Liberty; so I shall endeavour to set that Comparison of *ancient and modern Liberty* in as short, as clear, and as true a Light, as the little Knowledge I have in the *English History* will permit me, and the Nature of such a Disquisition will allow.

And when People talk of *the Liberty of Old England* in Comparison with, or Opposition to *That* now subsisting in this Country; I cannot help thinking they either talk of what they do not understand themselves, or to those by whom they hope they are not understood: For let Men make ever so slight Reflexions on the Manner in which this Kingdom has been govern'd from *the Conquest* to this Day, let them but run through the Dynastie of

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the *English* Kings, and sum up the Account of the Annals of each Reign ; and then let any candid and judicious Commentator say, whether Liberty was ever at any former Period of time more amply exercised and enjoy'd than at the present Hour.

'Till the *Restoration* there was no such thing as Liberty ; *That* after the *Restoration* was nothing compared to the Strength it gain'd at the *Revolution* ; and the Strength it then acquired, is so far, in my Opinion of Things, from being now impair'd, that it never flourish'd in such full Vigor as in the happy and prosperous *Reign* of his *present Majesty*.

This, not only the Friends to the present Government assert, but the Enemies to it prove, by annexing to their Complaints for the Loss of *Liberty*, such licentious Invectives against the *pretended* Destroyers, and *real* Guardians of it ; that the strongest Demonstration that can be given of the Falshood of such Accusations, is their

their being utter'd every Day with Impunity. *Non modo Libertas, etiam Libido impunita: aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est.*

From the *Restoration* let any one cast their Eye backward to *the Conquest*, and they will find whatever Changes happen'd in the Government, those Changes were nothing more than from one Tyrant, or one *Kind* of Tyranny, to another. With Regard to the Persons of Tyrants, there were glorious and inglorious, slothful and active, successful and unsuccessful, Tyrants; but there never was a Cessation or Relief from one sort or other. With Regard to the Form of Tyranny, there was only the same melancholy Vicissitude in the manner of oppressing the People, without any Suspension of the Thing itself; sometimes it was the *regal* Tyranny of the Prince; sometimes the *aristocratic* Tyranny of the *Barons*; sometimes (as in the Reigns of *Harry* the Second, and *Queen Mary* the First) the *Ecclesiastical* Tyranny of

of the *Clergy*; and sometimes all together, in their different Jurisdictions. By which means, between Monarchical, Oligarchical, or Hierarchical Oppression, there was no Change but from *this Tyrant* to *that*, or from *one* to *many*; and so little Appearance of Liberty of any kind among the People, that to recur to what I have already said, I never hear any body harangue with enthusiastic Encomiums on the Liberty of *Old England*, that I am not either ashamed of my Ancestors for deserving those Encomiums so little, or of my Cotemporaries for bestowing them so ignorantly.

As to the Liberty of this Country during the Domination of the *Norman Line*, every body knows it was none; the Right of Conquest, the Apprehensions of the Conqueror, and the Depression of the Conquer'd, made the one eager to secure and fix his Title, and the other too much weaken'd with intestine Disputes not to submit to any thing rather than re-expose

expose themselves to the recent Mischiefs of struggling: this Disposition of both made Tyranny easy to be exercised by the Masters, and hard to be resisted by the Slaves; their Purses were drain'd, their Numbers thinn'd, and their Spirits broken: foreign Families were call'd in to lord it over the Natives; and whatever was imposed or required, the People were unable to dispute, or afraid to refuse.

From *William* the first to *Harry* the second the Crown was worn by three successive Kings, who had no other Pretence to the Crown, than the having a Mind to wear it, and finding means to obtain it: during these Reigns, it was *Force* only prevail'd, and the People enjoy'd *their* Right, no more than the lawful Prince did *his*.

It is true that every one of these three Princes did successively promise the People, in order to make them acquiesce under this Usurpation, that they would re-establish the *Saxon Form of Government*, and restore all those Privile-

Privileges and Immunities to the People, which were enjoy'd before the Conquest; but as they all Three made this Promise to facilitate and plane their Way to the Throne, so they all Three broke it when they were seated and fix'd there.

During the Reign of *Henry the Second*, (the first King of the *Plantagenet* Line) it is true the Crown was less powerful, but the People were not more free; their Condition was not better, for the King's being worse; Ecclesiastical Disputes and Family Quarrels broke and bounded his Power, without enlarging his Subjects Privileges; and whilst he mourn'd the Loss of the one, they still groan'd under the Privation of the other.

To him that *Royal Don Quixote*, and warlike Enthusiast, *Richard the First* succeeded, who exhausted the Treasure of his Kingdom, to raise his Fame upon Earth; and spilt the Blood of his Subjects, to purchase Glory in Heaven,

In the next Reign, a Struggle for Liberty was again made, but not for the Liberty of the People; the Struggle lay between a King who had a mind to be sole Tyrant, and the *Barons* who had long tyrannised in their particular Districts over their Inferiors, and now wanted to tyrannise over their Superior too.

During the long subsequent Reign of *Harry the Third*, (that is, after the King was of Age, and the Regency of the great Earl of *Pembroke* determin'd) the Contest was the same as in the preceding Reign; and tho' by the Conduct of the Earl of *Leicester* the People afterward seem'd to have got some ground, by chusing Representatives who were instituted with a Pretence of taking care of their Rights; yet this was indeed but a seeming Acquisition, and no real Advantage in present gain'd; for whilst the Pretence of this Institution was only the Security of the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the People, the true Reason

of their Institution (as the subsequent Conduct of the Institutior shew'd) was so like the popular Affectation, and *Patriot-Professions* of a more modern Party, that this Measure was only taken to serve the ambitious Purposes of *Particulars*; and ended just as much in the Benefit of those, whose Cause their Patriot-Leader pretended to espouse, as the *military Project* of our *modern Patriots* (had it taken effect) would have ended in the Liberty of this Country; as the Schemes of *Pompey*, had he succeeded, would have ended in the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Establishment of the Rights of the *Senate*; or as the Schemes of *Oliver Cromwell* (who did succeed) ended in the Honour and Interest of the *Parliament*, under whose Banner he at first speciously fought, whose Cause he plausibly pretended alone to espouse, and who had only the Honour of being his last Victim.

The long Reign therefore of *Harry the Third* was a shifting Scene of va-

rious Turns, some in favour of an unjust, oppressive King, others in favour of a turbulent Nobility, or one able, ambitious Man; but for the poor unhappy People, whatever Spoke of this Wheel was uppermost, their Liberties, like the Earth, were always beneath its Revolutions, and crush'd by its Weight.

To *Henry* the third succeeded *Edward* the first, a great Man, and a great King; but tho' his People grew more considerable under him, they became not more free: The Conquest of *Wales*, and the Progresſ the *English* Arms made in *Scotland*, increas'd the Consideration of the *English* Nation, but it restored no Privileges to the People; and tho' the national Boundaries of the *English* Dominion were stretch'd, the Limits of *English* Freedom were still unenlarg'd; the Gates of Liberty were as closely shut, and as strongly barr'd as ever; and the only Comfort of the People in this Reign was, not that the Power of the Crown

Crown was bounded, but that it was not abused.

As no body will say the Reign of his weak and unfortunate Son *Edward* the second, was a Reign of Liberty, and that I mention no Reign but with Regard to that single Point, I shall pass it over without any farther Comment.

King *Edward* the third, and his Son, who never was King, were both of them great and able Men; great in Action, and able in Council; *England* too was great under them, but not free; and even its Grandeur under these Princes, as well as under *Harry* the fourth and fifth was a dangerous Grandeur, which, tho' it rais'd the Reputation of this Country in present, would if it had gone on a little longer, have ended in its Ruin; for the only Difference ultimately between *France* being conquer'd by *England*, or *England* conquer'd by *France*, must be whether an *English* or a *French* King should rule both; since in either

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Cafe, the Seat of Empire would be in *France*, and *England* consequently in either would become a Province to *France*; as in two Possessions under the same Prince, the lesser must always be a Province to the greater.

In the Beginning of *Richard* the second's unjust, luxurious, tyrannical and simple Reign, one tumultuous Mob indeed under a rash, intoxicated, ignorant Leader, made a shew of struggling for Liberty; but all the subsequent Part of his Reign was Disquiet, Confusion and Oppression, which ended in his Deposition, and the Establishment of *as able a Tyrant*, as ever sat on this Throne.

The gentler Disposition of this sagacious Usurper's great and wise Son *Harry* the fifth; the Success of his Arms abroad, and the calmer Situation of his Subjects at home, less irritated by domestick Oppression, and less torn by intestine Divisions, made the People more happy, but made them in no one Particular more free: For tho' the

the Expences of his rapid and extensive Conquests were defray'd with less Charge than such Expeditions and Achievements usually are, yet this was entirely owing to the wise Frugality of his own Oeconomy, to the Bounds he himself set to his Demands, and not the Limits the People prescribed to his Disbursements, or *their* Donations.

In the subsequent Reign began the fatal Disputes between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; which terminated after four Reigns, and about sixty Years, in the Establishment of *Harry* the seventh; during all this Contest the People were so far from enjoying any Freedom, that they never so much as grasp'd at it; they fought not for Liberty but for a Master; and never aim'd at striking off one Chain, but in order to put on another; as if it were material in Chains of equal Weight and Strength, whose Name was engraved on the Rivets by which they were fastened.

Harry

Harry the seventh, a Prince not wanting Understanding, but wanting every good Quality; byass'd by the most unroyal Vices, and guilty of the hardest Oppressions and meanest Cruelties; found a Disposition in his People, to bear far and patiently; and exercised their Patience accordingly; he knew they would submit to almost any thing he would impose upon them, rather than venture by new Resistance, to draw on again the Blows from which they were still sore, and open Wounds which were yet hardly skinn'd: and having Sense enough to discern this to be their Case, without Compassion, Benevolénce, or Justice enough to take pity of it; he chose, instead of making himself safe in their Affections, (a Security, which in this Situation he might easily have obtain'd) to try how far they would suffer; and by a Series of the most rapacious and cruel Acts of Injustice, Violence, Ingratitude, and Treachery, made his Reign dangerous and uneasy

uneasy to himself, as it was odious and oppressive to his Subjects.

This Man, however, by a little dirty Cunning shown in squeezing the Rich, and deceiving every body that trusted him, got the Title of *the English Solomon*; to have call'd him the *English David* would have been more apposite, as he dy'd much more like the One, than he liv'd like the Other; by ordering his Son on his Death-bed to do by the unfortunate Earl of *Suffolk*, as *David* order'd his Son to do by *Shimei*, when after having promised to spare his Life, he commanded it by a mean, revengeful, unjust and cruel Equivocation, to be taken from him by another.

In *Harry the Eighth* center'd the two different Claims of *York* and *Lancaster* to the Crown; and as he had of course an uncontested and indisputable Right, by this Union of the two Claims, to ascend the Throne; so he seem'd to think he had an equal Privilege to do whatever he thought fit

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when he was placed there ; and that the People in general had no more Right to object to any Violences, his Caprice and Cruelty put him upon acting as King, than any particular Person had to object to his being so.

As his Father and Mother convey'd to him the Titles both of the *York* and *Lancaster* Family, so he seem'd likewise to inherit, through them, all the Faults and Vices of both these Houses ; he had all the Dissoluteness, the Luxury and Dissipation of his Mother's Family, in the early Days of his Reign ; and in the more advanced Part of it, all the Rapaciousness and Cruelty of his Father ; so that it was difficult to say which was most fatal to this Country, the Contests of these two Families, or such a Conclusion of them.

During the Reign of this Oppressor of the People, this Butcher of his Wives, this Terror of the Nobility, and Scourge to all Mankind ; this Dupe abroad, and Tyrant at home ;
there

there was in *England* neither civil, nor religious Liberty; neither Liberty of acting, speaking, or thinking; intimidated, servile Parliaments were often the Proxies of his Tyranny, but never Checks to it; they made and unmade, enacted and abrogated Laws backward and forward, just as his fluctuating Disposition and lawless Will (under the Appearance of Law) dictated and ordain'd.

In religious Matters his Conduct was not less desultory and tyrannic, than in regard to the Succession: Resentment to the *Power of Rome*, and Bigotry to its *Doctrines*, produced such medley Work in his Councils, that notwithstanding a Disposition in the People, through Fear, to embrace any Opinion which he had a mind to recommend, and profess any Belief he wish'd to impose upon them; yet his Ordinances were often so contradictory, and often so unintelligible, that many miserable Wretches were put to Death for saying they believed, and

many for saying they disbelieved, the same thing; whilst others were burnt for professing, contrary to his Will, what they had only profess'd, because they thought those Professions conformable to it.

During the short Reign of his Son *Edward the Sixth*, the Pride and Weakness of the *Protector Somerset*, and the Ambition and Wickedness of *Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, successively harraf'd the Kingdom with all the Calamities attending a People squeez'd by oppressive Taxes, and forced into civil Wars: and tho' the bad Conduct of these two aspiring Men ended in their own mutual Ruin, yet the Cessation of their Sway gave not to the People any Relief from those Miseries caused by their Authority whilst it lasted.

It is true we owe in a great Measure the Benefits we at this Day enjoy from the *Reformation* to the *Duke of Somerset*; But that this Country shou'd owe such a Benefit originally to one of
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the worst Kings, and secondly, to one of the weakest Ministers that ever govern'd it, is a Reflexion that makes one wonder at the very beneficial Effects sometimes collaterally produced from very unrespectable Causes, but gives one very little Reverence for such casual Benefactors.

To *Edward* the Sixth succeeded his Sister *Mary*, a devout but execrable Sovereign; for the cruel Piety of that holy Tyrant, expos'd this Kingdom to as many Misfortunes under a good Woman, as it ever felt under the worst Man; her whole Authority was consign'd to the Hands of *Ecclesiastical Governors*, who embru'd them every Day in the Blood of her unhappy Subjects: The Usurpation of the *Lady Jane Grey*, and the subsequent Rebellion of *Wat*, made perhaps some Executions necessary to secure *Queen Mary* on the Throne; but to these many more, very unnecessary, were added, by the inexorable Spirit of persecuting Churchmen, who sacrificed, like

like the most barbarous Idolaters, whole Hecatombs of Victims, to their *edible* God, and his *infallible* Ambassador.

Christians, professing Charity, inflicted on *Christians*, all those Cruelties which the early Followers of *Christ* complain'd of receiving at the afflative Hand of the most harden'd *Infi-del*s.

In a Reign then where absolute Power both in Church and State, urged by *Revenge* and *Enthusiasm* under the Mask of *Loyalty* and *Devotion*, persecuted and condemned the Offenders against an injur'd Queen, and what they call'd an injur'd God ; in such a Reign what Privileges and Freedom were allow'd to the People, even those who are most unacquainted with the History of these Times may easily imagine from the Nature of such Circumstances.

At the Conclusion of this bloody melancholy Scene (which closed not till the Death of the weak Bigot that open'd

open'd it) came *Queen Elizabeth*; a Woman as different from her Sister and Predecessor, in Understanding as in Religion; and one whose great and glorious Reign can never be unjustly extoll'd, but when it is call'd a Reign, where the People enjoy'd the least Shadow of Liberty. Every Step she took tended to the publick Welfare, the Honour of the Nation, and the Interest of the collective Body of her People; but was taken as absolutely without their Consent, as the most prejudicial Measures of any of her most arbitrary Predecessors, or Successors.

She often sent for *the Speaker of the House of Commons*, and told him not only what she would and would not suffer to be *done*, but also what she would or would not allow to be *said*; told him she wanted Money, and would have it; and that *yea* or *nay* should only be utter'd when it was proposed to be given. That the Commons understood not State Affairs; that State Affairs were not their Business;

ness; and that it behoved them only to meddle with what was properly within their Province. She by her *Lord Chancellor* told the *Speaker*, and by the *Speaker* told the *Commons*, that they had no Right to judge of Returns in Elections, but that her *Lord Chancellor* should be the sole Judge, and determine in those Cases.

She imprison'd Members of Parliament merely by her own Authority ; forbid some Bills to be read in the House; others to be debated there; and refused the Royal Assent twice, to above 30 Bills each Time, that had pass'd both Houses.

Never were the Reins of *Prerogative* held with a stricter Hand, or the Yoke of Slavery faster bound upon the People's Necks than at this Period of Time ; and tho' the People were driven where they ought to have chosen to go, yet they were still driven; and the same Power that forced them into Foreign Glory and Domestick Prosperity, might in the Hands of a less skilful

ful or worse-dispos'd Driver have forced them into the Paths of Contempt abroad, and Destruction at home; the same Method of Government pursued in the subsequent Reign, and the Effects of that Method on different Maxims and Policy verify this Assertion.

All therefore that can be said with regard to the Liberty enjoy'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is, that she who allow'd her Subjects none, knew their Interest so well, and pursued it so steadily, that under *her* they possess'd every Good, but that of being able to make the Good they possess'd the Effects of their own Election.

To draw then a just Parallel between *that* Reign and the *present*, I think one may, by only enumerating the most material Circumstances of both, without the least Flattery affirm, that we now reap all the public Benefits that accrued to the Nation from her Counsels, without the latent Evil of their being forced upon us, and con-

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requently rather inflicted than bestow'd.

Both the *present King* and *Queen Elizabeth* came to the Throne with a disputed Title, and Both on their Accession found this Nation, with regard to foreign Affairs, in the greatest Perplexity, and in the most delicate Situation. Both of them often found their Title struck at under the pretence of National Grievances; and both saw through the Arts, and defeated the Designs of their open and secret Enemies; Both of them by Negotiation with all the Powers on the Continent alternately, brought this Country into such a Situation, that no one Advantage the *English* could expect was left ungain'd, no Dispute unadjusted, and not a Court in *Europe* but sollicited their Friendship, and dreaded their Enmity. The only Difference between the Advantages procured to this Kingdom by these two Reigns is, that as the Benefits *England* received from Queen *Elizabeth*, were only the mild

Effects of the Authority of a Princeſſ who trampled on our Liberties; the Benefits we now receive, come from the Hand of the Protector and Preſer- ver of them: All thoſe Advantages which we were constrain'd to accept from the one, come recommended to us from the other; the Deliberations of Parliament go hand in hand with the King's Counſels; what his Wiſdom and Vigilance has provided and pro- posed, the other has accepted and ap- proved; the Nation has been preſerv'd without any Blow to the Con- ſtitution; and every Good which Queen *Elizabeth* compell'd her Sub- jects to receive, without the leaſt Show of Freedom, the *prefent King* has procured for them, without the leaſt Infringement of it.

There is another ſimilar Circum- ſtance in theſe two Reigns, which is, that in each of them, a great and able Miſter, a faithful Servant both to the Crown and to the Publick, was, by the Diſcernment and Juſtice of

those he serv'd, protected and main-tain'd, in spight of all the Clamour raised against him by such as look'd with equal Envy on his possessing and meriting that Favour that distinguish'd him. A wise and discerning Prince always knows that Envy must follow Favour, and Clamour, Envy; conse-quently, that he must never judge of the Merit of his Servants by the De-gree of Clamour against them, which will generally be in proportion to the Degree of Favour, but by examining the Truth or Falshood of the Charge laid against them ; and in this Situa-tion alone can be seen the true Reso-lution and Prudence of a *Sovereign*; for to yield to Clamour for no other Reason than merely because it is Clamour, is Weaknes ; and to resist it for no other Reason, Obstinacy. Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Charles* the Second are two Examples of the dif-ferent Conduct of a wise Queen and a weak King on this Occasion ; King *Charles*, meanly for himself, and un-gratefully

gratefully to his just, able, and faithful Servant, gave up my Lord *Clarendon*, and by so doing brought himself into Distresses that ended but with his Life; Queen *Elizabeth* continu'd *Burleigh* in that Favour that ended but with hers.

To Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded the Original of that equally unhappy and undeserving Race of *Stuarts*, King *James* the First: His Reign and his Son's were one continued Series of Folly and Injustice; and Queen *Elizabeth* the Cause of most of the Misfortunes that befel either them or their People. For these Princes imagining they had a Right to keep up the *Prerogative* at the Mark they found it, thought of nothing *but* their Prerogative, and vainly imagin'd the Nation would submit to the same Stretch of the Prerogative when exercised to their Infamy and Ruin, under which it had acquiesc'd when employ'd for their Glory and Prosperity.

The Conduct of *James* and *Charles* the First in this particular, was a little like a more modern Prince upon the Continent, who affects acting with the same haughty Carriage, and on the same despotic Principles that were practised in the Court of *Charles* the Fifth, without either his Power, his Purse, or his Understanding: in like manner did these proud, vain, ambitious, weak Kings endeavour to tread the Paths of Queen *Elizabeth*, without either her Head to conduct them in those Paths, or such Ministers, as she made use of, to assist them.

I shall enter into no particular Detail of the Oppression and Despotism of these two Reigns; the Notoriety of the Facts makes it needless; and with regard to the Struggle made for Liberty when the People could bear no longer the lawless oppressive Conduct of King *Charles* the First, tho' that Struggle free'd them from his Tyranny, it was far from procuring them that Freedom for which it commenced; their

their *Deliverer* became their *Undoer*, and an absolute *Stratocracy* was the only Exchange they made for an absolute *Monarchy*. I cannot help here observing, that when the Patriot-Reformers of those Days, call'd *Levellers*, posted up their Declaration at *Banbury*, three of the four Articles of which, according to *Whitlock*, that Declaration consisted, were these:

1st, *Against the present Parliament and their Proceedings.*

2dly, *Against the Council of State.*

3dly, *Against the Council of the Army.*

I must add too, that this Declaration was made just after these *Levellers*, in modelling the Government, had agreed that *no Excise should subsist above four Months after the Commencement of the next Parliament.*

No publick Officers of Salary should be capable of being chosen at the next Election.

No Members of one Representative to be chosen of the next.

The

The next and future Parliaments to be annual.

Not to depend longer on the uncertain Inclination of Parliament.

Tythes not to continue longer than the next Representative.

Every Parish to chuse their own Minister, and no Parish to be forced to pay him.

And no one to be exempted from Offices on account of Religion.

If there is any Conformity between these Sentiments and Measures, and those of any other Set of Men at present subsisting ; if these Levelling Texts to reforming Discourses, have been adopted by more modern *Lay-Preachers*, and serv'd for the Heads of all the late political Sermons of the *Craftsman*, for this last Year, every Reader will anticipate any Reflexion or Application I can possibly make of what I have here quoted, and their own Memory of such recent Performances must consequently make any Refreshment to it unnecessary.

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I shall therefore not deviate from my Purpose of shewing how little Liberty such Contenders for Liberty procured for this Country, but conclude my Remarks on the well known Events of these Times, by saying, That those who pretended at first only to reduce and bound the Power of the Crown, and curb him who had abused it, became themselves, after they had destroy'd the King, such intolerable Oppressors of the People, that they straiten'd every Chain they pretended to loose, and doubled every Evil they pretended to cure; and thus (according to *Rapin*) one may with great Truth affirm, that England was never less free than during the long Parliament and the Administration of Cromwell.

Such Excesses brought the Affairs of this Country into the utmost Confusion, and that Confusion ended in recalling from long Banishment *the Son of that Oppressor* whom these Patriots had deposed.

Upon this Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, all the Grievances complain'd of in his Father's Reign (or at least the Source of them, which was arbitrary Power) were by Miracle only prevented from being again establish'd in this Country, and even by Law.

For had it not been for the great and honest Minister, I have already mention'd, *my Lord Clarendon*; that faithful Servant to an ungrateful Master; that true Patriot and real Benefactor to an unthankful People, the Form of this Government had been entirely alter'd; the *English* had been for some time at least as absolute Slaves as the *Turks* or the *Persians*, the King had had two Millions a Year settled upon him to defray all the Expences necessary for the Support of his Government; Parliaments had been made useless, and consequently laid aside; whilst the Regal Authority had been the sole *legislative*, as well as principal *executive* Power in this Country.

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That this Opposition of *Lord Clarendon* to the servile Schemes of the *Tory-Restoration Men* of this Æra, was no Proof of his Love to his Master, tho' it was a great one of his Zeal for the Publick, was the way of reasoning which the Enemies of this great Man made use of to destroy him, and which prevail'd at last with his unfeeling, blinded, and cruel Master to give him up and discard him. But in Truth this Conduct of *Lord Clarendon* was as much for the real Interest of the King as the People; He thought, and thought rightly, that it was the Interest of the King to have his Government establish'd on that Foot which the Bent of the Nation would quietly submit to, and not such as they would be tempted afterward to resist, from the same Motives that had before provoked Resistance; he imagined from the Examples of *Charles the First*, *Richard the Second*, *Edward the Second*, and *Harry the Third*, who had been ruin'd by grasping at absolute

Power in this Country, that it was much more prudent for a King here to content himself with a bounded Authority which he might make permanent and secure; than to make his whole Authority precarious by trying to extend it beyond its proper Limits; which had in all Times made the People so uneasy whenever it was attempted, that Rebellion and Civil-Wars had generally been the Consequence of such Plans and Measures.

When the *Ephori* were establish'd in *Sparta*, by the Consent of *Theopompus*, who then reign'd there; his Wife ask'd him if he should not be ashamed to leave the regal Authority to his Sons in a worse Condition than he found it? to which he answer'd *he should leave it in a better, as it would be more secure, in being more tolerable; and more permanent from being liable to fewer Abuses.* Had *Lord Clarendon* been reproach'd for suffering any Boundary to be put to the Power of his Master, I dare say he would have return'd just such an Answer.

And

And that this way of arguing in *Lord Clarendon* was salutary for the King, as well as becoming a Lover of his Country; the Effect of different Reasonings and Measures in the next Reign plainly shew'd.

But to return to the Account I proposed to give of the State of Liberty; I acknowledge there was by the upright Conduct of *Lord Clarendon* on the Restoration, for some time the dawning Appearance of Liberty in some wise and beneficial Laws that were then made; but this Dawning was soon overcast; other Measures were pursued; this witty Man, and silly King, was govern'd by his still more silly Brother; and not only the Liberty but the Religion of the People was struck at and invaded.

To these Domestic Grievances, was added the infamous Management of our foreign Affairs; the Parliament grew refractory on Account of both; and tho' for some time the *Duke of York* and the Parliament got the better

ter alternately, yet at last the Duke's Scale prevail'd, and the King for the three last Years of his Reign, govern'd without calling any Parliament at all.

Had King *Charles* liv'd much longer, it is hardly to be doubted, from the Circumstances in which we then were, but that the Government by Degrees had sunk into the most abject State, and in all probability into absolute Slavery: A vicious Court, a corrupt King, a profligate Nobility, no House of Commons, the Growth of Popery, and the Decay of Spirit among the People, were Symptoms that seem'd to presage the End of all Sort of Freedom being near at hand: But his weak, bigotted, impetuous Brother, not contented to let our Liberties die gradually of that chonical Malady under which he found them languishing, and by which they must at last have expired, grew in haste for their Dissolution, and by endeavouring to precipitate their Ruin, drew on his own. Nay, had he been satisfy'd with

with the total Subversion of our civil Liberties, even that, I believe, he might have obtain'd ; to that also perhaps he might subsequently have added the Subversion of our religious Rights : but nothing would content this hot, injudicious Man, but doing both at once ; and by aiming at both, he was prevented from accomplishing either.

And as simple People will always do simple things, and in a simple manner ; so the recent Example of King *Charles* the First before his Eyes proved no Warning to deter King *James* from the like Practices ; he proceeded to the same Violences without dreading the same Fate, and the incautious Son split on that very Rock by which the Father had been shipwreck'd.

For as King *Charles* the First had certainly carry'd all the contested Points of his Prerogative, had it not been for the injudicious Step he took with regard to the *Liturgy in Scotland*, which commenced a Rebellion there,
that

that soon spread its contagious Nature here; so King James, had he suffer'd the Change he had a mind to make in our *Religion* to be postpon'd till what he contended for in *Prerogative* had been settled, I fear by degrees he had been able to compleat his whole Scheme; but by endeavouring to execute it all at once, he ruin'd himself, and involuntarily saved the *Constitution* which he had otherwise destroy'd.

From King James the Second's Banishment, Abdication, Deposition, or whatever People please to call it, I date the Birth of real Liberty in this Kingdom, or at least the Establishment, if not the Commencement, of every valuable Privilege we now enjoy.

The *Bill of Rights* ascertain'd all those disputable Points of Prerogative and Liberty, that had hitherto been insisted on either by the Crown or the People, just as the Power of the one, or the other, at different *Æra's*, had prevail'd.

For

For notwithstanding *the Great Charter*, till this explanatory Renewal of it, or rather till this supplemental Ingraftment on the great Charter; the Bounds of Liberty and Prerogative were so indistinctly mark'd out, and so indeterminately known, that the Names of *Liberty* and *Prerogative* were made use of both by *Prince* and *People*, just as Opportunity favour'd the arbitrary Views of the one, or the licentious Disposition of the other.

No body knew the just Degrees of either; Tyranny often wore the plausible Title of the one, and Rebellion as often took the specious Form of the other, according as Occasions offer'd, and as the Temper and Circumstances of the Times, gave handle and colour to favour the Schemes and Pretensions of one or the other of these Excesses.

On the one hand the Prince had call'd every thing *his Prerogative* that his Ambition induced him to wish was so; every thing that his Resolu-

G tion

tion made him attempt, or his Strength enabled him to acquire ; every thing that either the Weakness of his People was obliged to submit to, or their Servility was ready to allow.

On the other hand, whatever Encroachments were made by the People on the *Prerogative*, went under the Denomination of maintaining their Liberties ; every Point they gain'd on the Crown, stimulated by their own Spirit and Vigor, or encouraged by the Indolence and Supineness of their Prince, was only call'd reviving former Rights, and asserting ancient Privileges ; and thus both *King* and *People* were ever acting like those two Parties describ'd by *Davila*, who, jealous of each other, and mutually fearing Encroachments might be made upon them if they continued quiet, were always guilty of Injustice themselves to avoid suffering it from others ; *Come fosse sempre necessario offendere o effere offeso* ; as if it was always necessary to injure, or be injur'd.

The Prince and People in this Country were by these means formerly just in the same Situation, in which *Livy* describes the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* of *Rome*; who (says he) instead of being joint Supports to the Commonwealth, thought of nothing but how to impair the Strength of one another, till their mutual Jealousies of each other, and their immoderate Desire of preserving their Rights, was the Cause that when either Party was prevalent, it employ'd its whole Power to oppress the other.

The greatest Misfortune therefore that can happen to a Country that is under a mix'd Government like ours, is to have the Districts of the chief Parts of that Government so indistinctly known, that those who should be joint Administrators of the Good of the whole, are more concern'd about having the Power to administer it, than about the Good itself; and are striving for the one, when they should be promoting the other.

To such sort of Contention (says *Machiaval*) is owing the Ruin of most States; *perche fra gli Huomine, parte desidenando haver di piu, parte temendo di perdere l'acquistato, si viene alle inimicitie, alle contenzione, & alle Guerra, della qual nasce la Rouina di quella Provincia;* because one Party desiring to gain, and another fearing to lose what it has gain'd, Enmities are bred, Contention ensues, and then civil War, by which the Country is undone.

As therefore no Government can be free but a mix'd Government, and no mix'd Government peaceable, but where the particular Jurisdictions are allotted, and the Bounds of each Part fully known and settled; so I think one may with great Truth and Justice affirm, this Government was never on so free and so desirable a Foot, as after the *Bill of Rights* was pass'd, and when the farther Limitations on the Crown by the A&t of Settlement took place.

Those

Those therefore who say *our Government is founded on Resistance*, and from thence infer that *Resistance* and *Struggle* is the Situation in which the People in this Country, whether oppres'd or not, ought always to keep themselves in order to preserve their Liberties ; are as great Enemies in my Opinion to this Constitution, at least to the Peace of it, as those who would advise the Crown, instead of maintaining its legal Prerogative, to be watching every favourable Opportunity to increase it ; since the one must produce the other; and if that State of Contention between *King* and *People*, is the Point at which both these Doctrines must meet, it is pretty immaterial which End you begin at.

I desire not to be misunderstood in this Point, or misinterpreted ; I am far from contending for that infamous, servile, and unnatural Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*; I know that every Blessing we now enjoy is owing to the exploded of that Doctrine, and to the acting contrary

contrary to its unreasonable Maxims and slavish Tenets. When the People are injur'd, when they are oppress'd, when their Rights are infring'd, their Liberties invaded, and the Constitution hurt and wounded, let them resist; it is their Interest, and it is their Duty to resist; it is their Nature, it has been their Practice, and I hope ever will be so in that Case. But what I condemn is the general Doctrine of *Resistance*, now so industriously preach'd and inculcated; and I do affirm, that if without any Allegation of Injury suffer'd, or Wrong attempted, this general Doctrine is to keep the People for ever on the Brink of Insurrection and Rebellion; if it is at all Times to be preach'd to the People (tho' the Government be ever so duly administer'd) if it is to operate equally under the best and the worst King; I say it must tend to making the Prince and his People always act as natural and irreconcilable Enemies, who should always act as natural and inseparable

parable Friends; it must make them look on each others Interest, which should always be mutually pursued; as opposite and incompatible Interests; it must sow the Seeds of eternal Discord where Union only should be cultivated ; and *at this time* I am sure, if this general Way of Reasoning were to influence the Actions of the People, without any one just Pretence of Encroachment made by the Crown upon the People ; it is opening a Gate to such Strife and such Confusion, as in my Opinion would temporally weaken each of them, and must finally conclude in the absolute Ruin of one or the other ; perhaps in the Ruin of both ; by making way for *One*, who could have as little Chance otherwise to succeed in his long baffled Schemes and Pretensions, as the People would have for their Liberties if in such Confusion he ever should succeed.

To return to the Reign of King *William*, I allow it to be a Reign of Liberty, but it was also a Reign of Disquiet

quiet both for him and his People; this Disquiet was partly owing to the Ruffle every Government must suffer in so great a Change as a Revolution, (even tho' that Change is for the better) and to some Time being necessary to let such Ferments subside, before the Good which that Ferment consequentially produces can be felt and enjoy'd. This Disquiet was partly owing too, to the King himself, who tho' blest with admirable natural Parts, had an Impatience in his Temper, and an Inexperience of the *English* Nation, that hinder'd him from ruling with that Stediness in his Conduct, which more Experience wou'd certainly have taught him was necessary, and less Impatience in his Temper would have allow'd him to practise.

King *William* found himself in Difficulties, and by his Impatience conducted himself in those Difficulties just as impatient People do when they are sick, who try the Prescriptions of every Physician, and by applying a Multitude

titude of Remedies give none the proper time to operate; and consequently prevent that which might prove a Cure, with a fair Tryal, from ever doing them any Good.

His fluctuating Measures, his sudden Changes from one Party to another, and his alternate Recourse to the Assistance of *Whigs* and *Tories*, join'd to his fatal Mistake of thinking, because the *Tories* profess'd an Attachment to the Prerogative, and the Power of the Crown, that therefore they would support him who they would not allow to have any Right to exercise the one, or wear the other; these were the Steps and Opinions that kept him during his whole Life in such Perplexity and Uneasiness, that neither *He* nor his People tasted the Fruit of that Happiness in his Reign which we now enjoy, tho' all the Seeds of it were then sown.

For the farther Illustration of these Truths, and to avoid a minute Prollixity in this Paper, I must refer my

Readers to a Book publish'd last Year, which will confirm what I have advanc'd with regard to the Frequency of King *William's* changing Hands, and the Effects those Changes produced. As to the Principles of Non-Resistance and maintaining the Prerogative of the Crown, being Principles on which the Tories act only when they have a King of their own, I must appeal to *Rapin*, who says *they always distinguish between a rightful and an actual King; and that their Behaviour in King William's Reign and the beginning of Queen Anne's compared with the latter End of it, plainly demonstrated that they never acted on those Principles for the Sovereign de facto, till the Sovereign de facto acted in a Manner that tended to the Restoration of him they call'd the Sovereign de jure.*

That no body may accuse me of Partiality in my Account of Queen *Anne*, all the Comments I shall make on her Reign, shall be, by inserting some

orthodox Extracts out of the Craftsman's own political Evangelist Rapin.
These are his Words :

" Queen *Anne* had been educated
 " in the Principles of the most rigid
 " *Tories* with regard to Religion, and
 " according to all appearances in
 " those of the most extravagant *To-*
 " ries with regard to Government.
 " Every body at least who had any
 " Influence over *her*, or any Share
 " in her Education, had that Cha-
 " racter: Her Father King *James*,
 " her paternal Uncle King *Charles*,
 " and her maternal Uncle the Earl of
 " *Rochester*, were each of them of
 " such Principles and Sentiments, as
 " hold all Opposition whatever to the
 " Will of a Sovereign to be absolute
 " Rebellion. Queen *Anne* was natu-
 " rally obstinate, and of a very bound-
 " ed Genius and Capacity. This lat-
 " ter Misfortune made it easy for Peo-
 " ple to conclude, that her Ministers
 " would have a greater Share in her
 " Government than herself; and eve-

“ ry one, but the highest *Tories* of
 “ all, was consequently apprehen-
 “ sive lest the Prejudices of Parentage
 “ and Education should induce her
 “ to put Lord *Rochester* at the Head
 “ of Affairs, whom the whole World
 “ look’d upon as a dangerous Man,
 “ and capable of pushing things to
 “ the last Extremity.

“ These Apprehensions in the Ma-
 “ jority of the Nation prevented Lord
 “ *Rochester* from being employ’d, and
 “ the Queen was forced (I know not,
 “ says *Rapin*, by what Intrigues) to
 “ put herself into the Hands of Lord
 “ *Marlborough*, Lord *Godolphin*, and
 “ those Men whom they recommend-
 “ ed”.

Rapin proceeds in giving great En-
 comiums to their Administration, and
 attributes “ the Loss of their Power
 “ entirely to the personal Address,
 “ and political Dexterity of *one Lady*
 “ being much superior to that of ano-
 “ ther,

“ Immediately after the Victory of
 “ *this Lady* was compleated, the *To-*
 “ *ries* (says he) were employ’d; the
 “ Parliament dissolv’d, all Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal Disputes were reviv’d, the *Pres-*
 “ *byterians* were shamefully persecu-
 “ ted, and the Populace made to be-
 “ lieve that *the establish’d Church was*
 “ *in Danger.*

“ Hitherto every thing went as the
 “ new *Tory-Ministers* could wish;
 “ but they foresaw that the chimeri-
 “ cal Terrors they had scatter’d among
 “ the People could not last, though
 “ they had been of immediate Use,
 “ and serv’d the present Purpose: Be-
 “ sides, tho’ the Ministers could have
 “ kept the People warm, yet as the
 “ *Queen*, who was very infirm, might
 “ die, they knew, the Elector of *Ha-*
 “ *nover*, who must succeed, if the
 “ Act of Settlement took place, would
 “ unrauel all they had been doing.
 “ They set themselves therefore im-
 “ mediately to work, to guard against
 “ this Danger without Loss of Time;
 “ they

“ they knew by the Experience of
 “ King *William's* Reign, and the Be-
 “ ginning of Queen *Anne's*, that their
 “ Party was too weak to sustain itself
 “ with a *Sovereign* against them; and
 “ concluded therefore (if one may
 “ judge by their Conduct) that the
 “ only Security they could have, was
 “ in giving the Crown to the *Preten-*
 “ *der.*” *Rapin*, however, does not
 rank Lord *O - - - d* in the Number of
 those who were in this Scheme.

“ Those who were in the Preten-
 “ der's Interest, he says, thought it
 “ absolutely necessary to engage
 “ *France* on their Side; and to this
 “ End made that infamous and precipi-
 “ tate *Peace of Utrecht*, which a-
 “ stonish'd the whole World.

“ In all probability (*Rapin* adds)
 “ if the *Queen* had liv'd much longer,
 “ the *Act of Succession* would have been
 “ repeal'd, and the *Whigs* would have
 “ been obliged to call the *Elector of*
 “ *Hanover* to their Succour, as they
 “ had formerly done the *Prince of*
 “ *Orange*;

" Orange ; tho' they would not (says
 " he) have had the same Prospect of
 " the universal Concurrence of the
 " People in one Case as the other ;
 " because in the Case of King *James*
 " the Second, the Oppressions of his
 " Government were actually felt ;
 " whereas those of the *Pretender*
 " were only presumptively apprehend-
 " ed." But here I differ from *Rapin*,
 having too good an Opinion of the
 Understandings of my Countrymen
 not to believe, that the certain Con-
 sequences of the *Pretender's* coming
 here, would operate as strongly on
 the Minds of the *English*, as the actual
 Violences of King *James* ; that they
 would exert themselves as strenuously
 to prevent *these* Evils, as they did to
 cure *those* ; and no more suffer the
Pretender to come, than they did
 King *James* to remain here.

" All that happen'd immediately
 " after the Accession of King *George*
 " the First to the Throne, (according
 " to *Rapin*) demonstrably proved,
 " that

" that those who govern'd in the
 " latter Part of the Queen's Reign, de-
 " sign'd to impose the Pretender on
 " this Nation.

As to the Liberty then enjoy'd these are his Words: *Let any one reflect on the Measures pursued by Queen Anne in the last Years of her Reign; as for Example, on the manner on which the Peace of Utrecht was treated and concluded; the Twelve Peers created all at once, and the Violence committed in Elections; and no one can deny but these were so many Steps leading to Despotism and in which she was guided and supported by the Tories.* The Attempts made on the *Liberty of the Press*, and the religious Persecutions in those Days, are corroborative Circumstances not mention'd by *Rapin*; but what ought not I think to have been omitted.

They are Circumstances too which every Body should carry in their Mind, whenever they make a Comparison between the Regard a *Whig* and a *Tory*

Admini-

Administration have always shewn to Liberty: And whoever examines, or reflects on the Conduct of a *Tory Administration* in this Country, or Men acting on *Tory Principles*, even before the Name of *Tory* was known; will find I believe that they have generally set out with a Plan to ruin the People, which has most commonly ended in the Ruin of themselves, or the *Prince* that employ'd them, or *both*.

Having by this Deduction run thro' all the Reigns of the *English Kings* from the *Conquest* to the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne, and given a cursory View of the State of *Liberty* in each of them, I come now to the Point at first proposed, of examining whether the State of Liberty at present is so much impair'd as the *Opponents* to the Government are every Day affirming; and whether the *Prerogative* of the Crown is got to that monstrous Height that some People endeavour to represent it.

In order to clear this Point I desire only to ask two Questions. Was the *Prerogative* of the Crown enlarg'd or limited by the *Act of Settlement*? And has *the King* comply'd with the Articles contain'd in the *Act of Settlement*, or has he asserted any Point of *Prerogative* not left to the Crown by that *Act*, or infring'd any Privilege reserv'd by that *Act* to the People?

And if it is indisputably true that the Crown was never bound by stronger Restrictions than in that *Act*, and as true that none of those Restrictions have been unobserv'd or evaded, with what Truth or Justice can these clamorous Inveighers against the Government complain of the present Decay of Liberty, or reproach the Prince upon the Throne with the least Infringement of any of the Rights or Privileges of his Subjects? In what one Particular can they find Proof for these Assertions, and how without Proof can they hope to find Credit for them?

Words it is certain may always be found to blacken and calumniate the fairest Characters and the most upright Conduct; and as I will allow, that Words may also be found to varnish over the worst Actions, and soften the greatest Faults; so upon this Occasion, as upon all others, where Truth is sought or discovered, let *Things* and *Facts* speak for themselves; and when they do so, they will always stamp their own proper, intrinsic Value, on the Opinion of the Bulk of Mankind, notwithstanding the various Turns *Partiality* may give to them on one Hand or *Malice* on the other: For as the Gross of the Nation and the Body of the People in general, who are to be benefited or prejudiced by the Conduct of those who are at the Helm, will judge by *Facts* and what they see and feel, so it will be impossible for the Glare of Flattery long to dazzle them with a Representation of Prosperity if they do not feel that Prosperity; nor can the most plausible and

artful Insinuations of Calumny and Detraction make them blind to Benefits if they really receive and enjoy them.

Notwithstanding therefore the *fashionable*, and general Accusations of *Blunders* abroad, and *Corruption* at home ; when the People of *England* do see and know, that those *intricate, contradictory Treaties, those Labyrinths of Negotiation,* (as our Transactions abroad have been elegantly call'd) those injudicious Steps and Measures have been such, that, whilst the rest of *Europe* is in Arms, and in Confusion, *England* is in Peace and Prosperity ; that these Treaties have been so made, that *England*, in the present Wrangles and Disputes, is entirely at Liberty to chuse for whom she will act, or whether she will act at all ; that no one Point she has drove at, with regard to her own Interest, is brought anew into Question ; that her Possessions abroad are unattack'd, and her Commerce so unrival'd, so unobstructed, and

and so flourishing, that the Imports and Exports were never higher, nor our Credit in greater Prosperity; when the People of *England* see and know that every Court in *Europe* (where the Opponents have represented us as mendicant and suing) is soliciting our Favour, and apprehending our Enmity; when they see every great Power as anxious for the Success of their Minister's Applications to this Court, as for the Success of their Generals in the Field; whilst *England* makes this Figure in *Europe*, I have too good an Opinion of my Countrymen to believe that a few mercenary *Journalists* and testy *Pamphleteers* will be able to persuade them, that the Affairs of this Kingdom have been *blunderingly*, *ignorantly*, or *dishonestly* conducted; or that our Negotiations for these late Years have brought us either into Contempt or Distress; nor can I imagine that the inflammatory Suggestions of repeated Libels will be able, against Demonstration, to convince the Nation,

tion, that we have *a Prince on the Throne*, who wants either Abilities or Inclination to procure the Welfare of his Subjects; that he has been ill serv'd in those Views, or that they have not succeeded.

With regard to *Corruption*, and the *Loss of Liberty* at home; the Charge of the Opponents is just as well supported by Facts, or made out by Examples in these Points, as in the other.

In what Article has Liberty been infring'd? Was the *Power of Parliament* ever in greater Vigor? Was the Law ever more equitably administer'd? Did Men of greater Abilities, or fairer Characters, ever preside in the Courts of Justice? Were the Sentences and Decisions of the Law, either in the first Trials, or in the extreme Resort, ever less complain'd of? or was the Equity of the Legislature ever more unimpeach'd? Was there ever any Reign in which fewer Attempts were made to stretch the Bounds of the *Prerogative*, or fewer Abuses made of

of the *Prerogative* within its legal and proper Limits? Was there ever any Court where so few Employments were ever bought and sold? or rather, Can there be one Instance given where Money has operated in the Distribution of Offices; where Favour has over-ruled Justice, or Money purchased Favour? Were Men of more Knowledge, of more exemplary Lives, and more unexceptionable Characters ever preferr'd in the Church? Was there ever any Court where Vice met with so little Encouragement from the Countenance shown to it, or so little Justification by Example? Was there ever any Court so just, so punctual, and so exact in all its Payments? Was there ever in any Court more proper Grandeur and Dignity kept up, or more Order and Decency observ'd? And let any Man, who knows the Prince upon the Throne, and will say what he knows, declare if ever it was fill'd by *One*, who look'd more minutely into every Matter relating to his

his high Station, the Welfare of his People, and national Concern ; or one who paid a more inviolable Regard to Truth in all his Words, or to Justice in all his Actions. Nor will the Equity of future Times refuse to confirm this Truth, how unwilling soever the Ingratitude of some of our Cotemporaries makes them to allow, what they may deny, but cannot disprove. *Suum cuique decus Posteritas repedit.*

This being the true Situation, and such the happy Condition of this Country at present, I would be glad to ask the Enemies to his Majesty's Government, the Aspersers of his Administration, and the Deluders of his People ; if they were to chuse throughout the whole History of *England*, from the first Institution of Government in this Island, what Period of Time they would pick out, for the Circumstances of which they would be glad to exchange the Circumstances of the present Times ?

If

If they can find none; and if it is farther visible, after all the Threats and Menaces thrown out, the Beginning of the last Session of Parliament, with every Subject open to the Disquisition of Parliament, that no one particular Charge either of Neglect or Guilt has been exhibited against any Man concern'd in the Administration of the Government, how are we to account for all the Clamour and Complaint so indefatigably propagated, and so artfully fomented all over the Kingdom? The Way I shall account for it, and the only way I think it can be accounted for, is in the Manner that *Rapin* accounts for the Proceedings of the *same Party* upon another Occasion. And as I cannot put his Reflexion into better Words than his own; here they are.

Ce ne sont pas done tous les Anglois qui doivent porter le Blame de ces Divisions denaturées, mais seulement ceux qui les fomentent pour leur intérêt, particu-

ticuliers : ce sont les Chefs qui, pour leur propre intérêt, seduisent le pauvre People, & qui ne se fout point de Scrupule de l'engager dans le Risque d'une Guerre civile.

It is not then all the English who should bear the Blame of these unnatural Divisions, but only Those who ferment them for their own private Interest ; those Heads of the Party, who to pursue their own Interest seduce the poor People, and make no Scruple of risking to engage the Kingdom in a civil War.

I shall add nothing more to this Paper, but to ask *the People*, Who are then the propereſt Men to be intrusted with the Care of their Fellow-Subjects, Those who would fill them with false Fears of the Civil-Government, and expose Them to the real Dangers of a Military-Government ; or Those who have been ſo watchful over the true Interest of this Country, as to preserve the Constitution in its ancient Form against

against all Attacks to undermine it ?
And whether it is to be imagined, that
those who have shewn so little Regard
to the Interest of the People when *out*
of Power, would have much more
Regard to it if they were *in* ? Or ha-
ving abused the People in order to ac-
quire Power, whether it is reasonable
to think they would abuse them less,
when they would have the Means in
their Hands of abusing them more ?

F I N I S.



1863
The following is a list of the
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